

## Message Text

PAGE 01     PRETOR 03730 221325Z

42

ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 OMB-01 DHA-02 INRE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5272

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMCONSUL DURBAN

UNCLAS PRETORIA 3730

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SF

SUBJ: JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY BLACK LEADERS

REF: PRETORIA 3722

1. FOLLOWING THEIR MEETING YESTERDAY (AUGUST 21) AT JAN SMUTS  
AIRPORT HOLIDAY INN, HOME LAND LEADERS (NTSWANWISI - GAZANKULU;  
PHATUDI - LEBOWA; BUTHELEZI - DWAZULU; MPHEPHU - VENDA; SEBE -  
CISKEI; AND PERSONAL REPRESENTATION OF CHEF MINISTER OF QWAQWA  
AND BOPHUTHATSWANA) ISSUES FOLLOWING COMMUNIQUE:  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02     PRETOR 03730 221325Z

QM PREAMBLE

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WE MEET TODAY IN A TIME WHEN SOUTH AFRICA HAS NOT YET

DISCOVERED ITS FUNDAMENTAL UNITY, A COMMON SOUTH AFRICANISM AND A COMMON PURPOSE FOR ALL. SOUTH AFRICA TODAY IS BEDEVILLED BY THE CONFLICT BETWEEN BLACK NATIONALISM AND AFRIKANER NATIONALISM THUS MAKING FOR A HIGHLY DANGEROUS SITUATION.

2. WE MEET TOGETHER ALSO IN RESPONSE TO THE CONTINUING CRY OF DEEP FRUSTRATION AND DESPAIR OF OUR PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE REPUBLIC WHICH HAS MANIFESTED ITSELF SINCE JUNE 16 IN DEATH, DESTRUCTION IN THE URBAN TOWNSHIPS AND RURAL AREAS IN SOUTH AFRICA. WE MEET TO EXPRESS OUR DEEP CONCERN AT THE FUTURE OF THIS, OUR BELOVED COUNTRY, AND LAND OF OUR BIRTH; TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE EXISTENCE OF GRIEVANCES AFFECTING MILLIONS OF OUR FELLOW BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS; AND TO SUGGEST CONSTRUCTIVE AND POSITIVE PROPOSALS TO MEET THOSE GRIEVANCES AND TO CORRECT THE INJUSTICES WHICH EXIST AT THE PRESENT TIME. THE WELFARE AND GRIEVANCES OF OUR FELLOW BLACKS ARE OUR CONCERN, WHEREVER THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC MAY BE.

3. WE DEPLORE THE FACT THAT THE COUNTRY TODAY IS IN SUCH DIRE STRAITS, BECAUSE OF THE SHABBY MANNER IN WHICH OUR REPRESENTATIONS TO THE PRIME MINISTER, AT TWO SUMMIT MEETINGS WE HAVE HAD WITH HIM, ON THE 6TH MARCH 1974 AND THE 22ND JANUARY 1975, WERE TREATED. IN THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT HAD HEEDED OUR WORDS OF WARNING CONCERNING THE GRANTING OF PERMANENT RIGHTS FOR URBAN BLACKS AND THE IMPOSITION OF AFRIKAANS AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION, AMONGST OTHER THINGS, THIS CONFLAGRATION WHICH ENGULFS THE WHOLE COUNTRY WOULD NOT HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

WHILE SYMPATHISING WITH YOUTH IN THEIR PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE IMPOSITION OF AFRIKAANS AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION, AND WHILE UNDERSTANDING THE IMPATIENCE OF YOUTH IN ITS REFUSAL TO BEING PUSHED AROUND FROM PILLAR TO POST BY WHITES THIS CONFERENCE OF BLACK LEADERS CAN  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03     PRETOR 03730 221325Z

NOT CONDONE THE WANTON DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY, SCHOOLS AND LIVES. FURTHER THIS CONFERENCE DEPLORES THE VIOLENCE UNLEASHED BY THE POLICE IN RESPONSE TO PEACEFUL AND LEGITIMATE DEMONSTRATIONS BY THE STUDENTS.

THE PRACTICE OF THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT IN CONTINUING TO DENY FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS TO BLACKS, UNTIL FORCED BY CONFRONTATION HAS SHOWN TO THE COUNTRY AND TO THE WORLD, THAT THE ONLY LANGUAGE THEY ARE PREPARED TO LISTEN TO IS VIOLENCE. IN SO DOING THEY HAVE DEALT A SEVERE BLOW TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF NON-VIOLENCE, AS A VIABLE

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FORMULA FOR CHANGE.

ALTHOUGH SOME CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN SOUTH AFRICA,

SUCH AS THE OPENING OF SOME HOTELS, LIBRARIES, PARKS AND THE LOOSENING OF SPORT POLICIES, THESE ARE NOT SEEN BY MOST BLACKS, AS REPRESENTING FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES, BUT ARE SEEN AS MERE WINDOW DRESSING FOR THE SHOW.

FAILURE TO IMPLIMENT THE GENUINE ASPIRATIONS OF BLACKS, AS PRESENTED BY BLACK LEADERS HAS DONE GREAT HARM TO GOVERNMENT'S RECOGNISED STATUTORY BODIES, AND HAS GIVEN A LOT OF CREDIBILITY TO THE ACCUSATIONS THAT THESE INSTITUTIONS FOISTED ON OUR PEOPLE, ARE OF NO VALUE.

WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS A TIME FOR PENITENCE FOR ALL WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA. WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO OUR CONTRY IS A RESULT FO THEIR FAILURE TO OBSERVE THE FUNDAMENTAL RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL TEACHING SUCH AS CONTAINED IN THE WORDS: "THEREFORE ALL THINGSWHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN DO TO YOU, DO YE EVEN SO TO THEM." ONLY IF AND WHEN THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT FACES UP TO THE FACT THAT A CHANGE OF HEART IS MORE IMPORTANT TO RACIAL HARMONY THAT GIFTS, LAVISHED OUT A CALVINISTIC DUTY, WILL THERE BY ANY QUESTION OF RAPPROACHMENT BETWEEN BLACK AND WHITE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT THAT CHANGE THAT IS NOW OVERDUE IN OUR COUNTRY, WE WISH TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING APPEAL TO THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNEMNT AS WE HAVE DONE REPEATEDLY TO THE PRIME MINISTER IN THE PAST :-  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04      PRETOR 03730 221325Z

(1) DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION BASED ON COLOUR AND RACE MUST GO, SINCE THIS IS AN ASSAULT ON THE DIGNITY OF THE BLACKMAN.

(2) THE BLACKMAN IS PERMANENT EVERYWHERE IN THIS COUNTRY, INCLUDING THE URBAN AREAS.

(3) ALL THE BLACK LEADERS PRESENTLY DETAINED MUST BE FREED FROM DETENTION OR CHARGED IN A COURT OF LAW.

(4) THE BLACK LEADERS MEETING HERE, REGARD THEMSELVES AND ARE CONSIDERED BY MILLIONS OF THEIR PEOPLE AS PART AND PARCEL OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT. IT BEING SO, WE DEEPLY REGRET THE DIVISIONS WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP OF BLACK PEOPLE AT THIS MOMENT OF CRISIS. WE WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THIS IS THE TIME DURING WHICH BLACKS MUST SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE, WHATEVER THEIR DIFFERENCES MAY BE ON STRATEGY.

(5) INFLUX CONTROL REGULATIONS MUST GO.

(6) THE BANTU ADMINISTRATION BOARDS MUST GO, AS THEY ARE CONSIDERED BY BLACKS AS INSTRUMENTS OF OPPRESSION.

(7) FREE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION FOR BLACKS MUST BE INTRODUCED IMMEDIATELY JUST AS IS THE CASE WITH WHITES.

(8) WE DEMAND FULL HUMAN RIGHTS FOR BLACKS AND NOT CONCESSIONS, AS CONCESSIONS CAN NO LONGER SATISFY THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE BLACK MAN.

(9) IF THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO IGNORE REASONED AND LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIONS OF BLACK LEADERS FOR CHANGE, AS THEY HAVE DONE SO FAR, THEY WILL BE WILLINGLY OR UNWITTINGLY PROMOTING THE CAUSE OF VIOLENCE.

(10) THE LEADERS HERE ASSEMBLED, EXCLUDING BOTH THATSWANA AND THE TRANSKEI, WISH TO REITERATE THAT THEY HAVE NO INTENTION WHATSOEVER OF OPTING FOR THE SO-CALLED UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05     PRETOR 03730 221325Z

ZINDEPENDENCE", AS WE DO NOT WANT TO ABDICATE OUR BIRTHRIGHT AS SOUTH AFRICANS, AS WELL AS FORFEITING OUR SHARE OF THE ECONOMY AND WEALTH, WHICH WE HAVE JOINTLY BUILT.

(11) AS RESPONSIBLE BLACK LEADERS WE URGENTLY PLEAD FOR A MEETING WITH THE PRIME MINISTER TO DISCUSS THE PRESENT STATE OF UNREST IN THE COUNTRY. IN ADDITION WE WOULD ALSO WANT TO DISCUSS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER THE URGENCY OF HOLDING A NATIONAL CONFERENCE WHERE THE DETAINED LEADERS WILL ALSO BE REPRESENTED.

2. IN CALL ON AMBASSADOR PREVIOUS AFTERNOON CHIEF MINISTER SEBE SUGGESTED THAT ONE OF THE RESULTS OF MEETING MIGHT BE TO SEND A DELEGATION

TO WASHINGTON TO PRESENT BLACK VIEWS TO HIGH DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS. AMBASSADOR NOTED HIS AVAILABILITY TO SERVE AS CHANNEL. PHATUDI AND NTSWANWISI ATTENDED DINNER FOR SAIS DEAN OSGOOD AT RESIDENCE NIGHT OF AUGUST 21 AND NEITHER ONE SAID ANYTHING ABOUT WASHINGTON TRIP. PHATUDI IN GIVING AMBASSADOR COPY OF COMMUNIQUE AND BLACK LEADERS HOPED TO SEE PM VORSTER NEXT WEEK.  
BOWDLER

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